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north winds in the wintry season, and in hot and sultry weather shade them from the sun.

I had remained in the chief's tent but a short time when I was again conducted to the square. There I found Aikens, Martin, and Stewart. It was soon revealed we were to "cut a conspicuous figure" in a war dance. We have among us frequent ideal representations of savage customs which are horrible enough, but the mind labors and struggles in vain to select from the wide range of our language the exact words that will properly describe an Indian war dance round a *real* captive. They came forth bedizened in their traps and feathers, their tomahawks and scalping knives in their uplifted hands, great daubs of red paint above and below their eyes, circling round and round us on a spasmodic trot, uttering their hoarse guttural songs, which seemed to flow up through their savage throats over sharp rifts of phlegm. As they proceeded, their pace, such as it was, accelerated, and their songs grew loud and louder, rising gradually from a monotonous grunt into a hideous and indescribable howl. Very often, some one of them, deserting his place, would dart towards us with his drawn hatchet threatening to brain us, while another would seize us by the hair and go through the pantomime of scalping. Thus, for two hours, they continued to sing and dance, and whoop and yell, flourishing their tomahawks and knives over us, until, at last they were compelled to stop from mere exhaustion. The captives were then separated, myself being led back to the chief's tent, where I was tied down to stakes in the manner before described. Four days had now passed without repose, but weary nature, at length, demanded rest, and I sank into a troubled sleep.

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of his voice that the sentiments to which he gave expression came from the inmost depth of his heart. So near as I was able to comprehend, he was commenting on the wonderful goodness of the Great Spirit who gave them green corn in its season, and exhorting them to thankfulness for the same.

The next day, outside the village, numerous fires were kindled at short distances from each other round a large circle, which included between one and two acres. Each family had its separate fire, and by each fire was a quantity of green corn, piled on a buffalo skin. When the squaws had roasted it, the prophet, the civil and war chiefs, and a few others took a position in the center of the circle, while the tribe, numbering some six hundred, ranged themselves outside the fires, and the dance began. Round and round they went, singing their green corn song, which sounded in my ears like the perpetual repetition of "*ahow, aho, aho ahow*," keeping time to rude specimens of music hammered out of a dry skin drawn over a hoop, and extracted from a quick and violent collision of buffalo bones—a performance similar to that common among Negro minstrels. Finally, they huddled together on the south side of the circle, and sat down. Karolo addressed them briefly, and was followed in a few remarks by the chiefs. The prophet then walked around the circle, raising his hands above the separate piles of roasted corn as he passed them, talking all the while, as if invoking a blessing, and having made the circuit, the tribe gathered in distinct squads about the several fires and commenced eating. When the roasted ears were shelled to the last kernel, the festival of the green corn dance was over, and they went back, singing, to the town.

It is a custom among them to paint their faces daily. I was compelled, every morning, while with them, to pursue this practice—to anoint my features with a preparation

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dance over him in the square. I longed for the privilege of speaking to him, but it was denied. The morning following his advent, he was tied on a mule, his face covered with buckskin, and escorted from the camp. I never could gain the least information from whence he came, or whither he was taken; but suppose he had been captured by a party belonging to another village, who simply halted at our encampment overnight, and got up the war dance by way of entertainment.

We were frequently visited by the chiefs and warriors of the surrounding tribes. They were, invariably, cordially welcomed and hospitably entertained. Then there was a pipe dance, which is the dance of love and friendship. They were invited to repose on the largest buffalo skins, and given to eat the flesh of a roasted dog, though the moon was not in the full—a luxury surpassing even the meat of the wild horse. I apprehend many were attracted to our camp through curiosity to see and hear the wonderful watch, the fame thereof, beyond question, having spread far and near. I come to this conclusion from the fact that speedily following their arrival, Moko would bring it forth, and call on me to make it talk.

There was one visitor, in particular, a stout, surly chief, who in the course of the summer visited our camp many times. He appeared to have become fascinated with the watch, never growing weary of listening to the alarm. After Moko had finally placed it affectionately in her bosom, he would have long and earnest interviews with Big Wolf, the subject of their conversation being, as was easy to perceive, the mysterious watch. I learned that he was the chief of a tribe whose village was situated in a valley beyond the mountains at the distance of two days' journey, and that he was known as the Spotted Leopard.

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ooo turning to the right, round the point of a high bluff we rode along its banks, discovering as we advanced broken patches of prairie where it was evident some tribe had grown its last year's corn. The valley is called, in the Indian
[103] tongue, *Lescoha*, and the stream, which we were following towards its source, *Boge Lescoha*.

574 In the afternoon we came in sight of a large town situated directly at the foot of a mountain which bounded the plain on its northern side. A mile outside we were met by a party of eight or ten, who approached us on a dashing gallop and escorted us in. When we had reached the square, the same surly chief who had so often visited Big Wolf to listen to the voice of that wonderful thing which Moko carried in her bosom came forward and bade us welcome. Then I knew we were in the camp of the Spotted Leopard.

361 The village was built on both sides of the Boge Lescoha, which had its source in a large spring under the mountain, not far distant. It divided the town in the center, the civil chief's tent being on one side and the war chief's on the other.

427 A short half-hour only had passed, when the horn sounded
● 536 the war dance. I was conducted to the center somewhat nervous and apprehensive—the apparitions of Martin and Stewart flitting before my mental vision—nevertheless, there remained an inward confidence I would not be put to death, because I had kept the covenant. While in this state of perplexity, the warriors were issuing from their tents, whither they had gone when the horn sounded, to gird on their belts, and decorate themselves with such scalps as they possessed, and were assembling round me. The signal given, the dance began, and was conducted in the usual manner, such as I have before attempted to describe, but which the reader must see before he can fully

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understand. It was brief—unusually so—and terminated without any damage, very much to my relief. 727 635

After the ceremony, I was conducted to the tent of one of the Spotted Leopard's wives, of whom he also had four. This was especially appropriated to the accommodation of Big Wolf, and inasmuch as I had always slept in the same tent with him at home, he did not think proper to alter the programme on this occasion. 727 574

In the morning, a large number of mules and horses were collected in the square, driven in from the surrounding pasture by the women. Piles of buffalo, deer, and beaver skins, also, were brought from the tents and packed on mules. I was then brought out by Big Wolf, who produced the bloody stick and delivered it to the Spotted Leopard, at the same time informing me I had been sold and assigned. To render the transfer legal, however, it became incumbent on me to reopen the vein on the back of my hand, and again stain the carved figures with blood, an act which, in view of the alternative of being butchered, I performed with great alacrity. This formality closed the bargain, when Big Wolf and his warriors departed, taking with them the avails of the sale. In this business transaction, I had the satisfaction of learning how much, in Indian estimation, I was worth, to wit: 120 animals, old and young, of the horse kind, and as many skins as three pack mules could carry. 727 425 [435]

From the first I entertained an inveterate dislike of the Spotted Leopard. He was morose, reserved, unsocial, and there was a malignant expression about his mouth and eyes that told me as plainly as if it had been written in emphatic English on his forehead that he was a being who would delight in cruelty. These were my first impressions of him, and I never had occasion to modify them afterwards. But 727 622

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224 older children left the main camp for the operating base. Mules and pack horses were used to transport the hunting tents, which consisted simply of one or more undercoated skins thrown over a pole resting on crossed stakes. They were also to bring back to the main camp the many hides and quantities of meat that would be taken. Only weapons, tools, and supplies that seemed necessary for the occasion were carried.

224 There was plenty of hard work for all concerned, but it was work spiced by anticipation of the excitement of great feasts and sharpened
535 by gay social activity. This was really the "Harvest Season." On at least one and possibly for several evenings before the hunting party left the main camp, the people gathered for the Hunting Dance at the central meeting place of the village just as lengthening shadows faded into darkness. The hunting party itself often continued to dance for one or more nights after they had left the main camp. There was no spiritual significance attached to the dance; each Comanche informant insists that the people danced because they "were glad they were going on a hunt." Why not? For the dance a fire was built, unless a bright autumn moon provided sufficient light. There
[801] were two, four, or more drummers and singers, always an even number. The drummers and singers were men who had good voices, but for such strictly social dances no medicine powers were essential. Men and women lined up facing each other, and when the music began, the women crossed over and selected a partner. The dancers joined at intervals in the singing. They wore their everyday clothes, for no special ceremonial dress was necessary on this occasion. During the dance one man took care of the fire, but the wood was gathered by any of the enthusiastic dancers who wished to help. About midnight the dance ended and the people scattered to their lodges for sleep.[36]

224 The regulation of communal buffalo hunts under the strict surveillance of military police was one of the outstanding features of the cultures of practically all the Plains tribes. But of this the Comanches had nothing. They had, of course, no military fraternities such as those which did the policing for the other tribes, and in spite of their fierce individualism they seem not to have had the need for police

[36] Informants: Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old; Kills Something.

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517 quite simple. Visiting, feasting, the dance, story-telling, and competitive games constituted their principal means of recreation and amusement. The Comanches were very sociable and spent much time visiting. Visiting and feasts furnished opportunity for the discussion of news and tribal welfare. The religious ceremonies were regarded by many as less an occasion for worship than an exciting and interesting social gathering.

Social gatherings in the evenings were filled with mirth, revelry, and enjoyment. Before the arrival of the white trader, the Comanches were noted for their abstinence from intoxicating drink. Most evenings were devoted to singing and storytelling, which was not only entertainment but education. By frequent repetition of stories, the [869] tribal history, traditions, legends, and ideals were perpetuated for the young. Older people seldom grew weary of repeating the stories or of listening to them.

517 On other evenings young men and women gathered around a fire which had been kindled in the village, and while it reflected its ●535 dancing shadows against the yellow lodge-skins, they danced and chanted their songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic beat of the drum. Those who did not participate in the dance sat on the ground in a circle, facing the musicians who sat in the center beating their small drums. Men and women dancers stood a short distance apart facing each other. When the music began, a man would select a dancing partner by placing his hands round her waist, while she clasped him in similar fashion. The affair lasted an hour or more. The Indian, who had been taught to dance almost from the time he had been able to lift his feet, danced with rhythm and freedom, and every movement was vivid and natural.

526 Competitive games continued from childhood to middle life, and when a person became too old to participate, he still enjoyed watching them.

When food was plentiful and no necessary jobs were pressing, a Comanche really liked to settle down for some good fun. Men and women alike were great sports; gambling was a passion. Their horse racing has already been described, but it was not their only athletic sport. The women liked to play double ball or shinny, a strenuous pastime, to say the least. They set up arrow-shooting contests to test

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727 procedure in sewing was from east to south, to west, to north, to east, or in the same direction in which a Comanche entered a tipi. The hair was oiled and combed, and the scalp-loop attached to a slender pole. The other end of the pole was stuck in the ground and the scalp was allowed to dry. Lances, tomahawks, and shields were sometimes used instead of poles.

With the scalp poles high, so all could see, the warriors led the parade into the village. The leader and any other person receiving special recognition led the way. Behind them were those who had shown the greatest courage, counted coups, or performed creditable acts. The remaining warriors came next. On both sides and in the rear were the relatives, friends, and other villagers, who had come forth shouting, yelling, and dancing. They sang songs in which they mentioned the names of their favorite heroes. On entering the village, the warriors turned off as they came to their own lodges, turned their horses and weapons over to a wife, mother, or sister, and went inside to rest and prepare for the big Victory Dance.

727 When there were scalps it was a Scalp Dance; if only plunder and
● 535 captives had been taken, it was a Victory Dance. There was little difference except for the presence of the scalps. The dance was likely to continue all night, and when the victory had been a brilliant one, dancing and feasting were apt to be kept up for several days.

These dances varied from band to band, and even within the same village, but certain characteristics were evident in all. The dance took place in the center of the village in the evening following the return of the successful war party. The villagers put up a large pole in the center of the dance circle. The scalps were attached to the pole. Wood was gathered and stacked in a conical pile with dry grass beneath, so it could be easily fired. The fire was lighted after dark when the singers and drummers, old or middle-aged, had arrived and seated themselves near the scalp pole. Both men and women painted and dressed for the occasion. Black was the predominating color for women; red for men. Men entitled to wear war bonnets donned them. The men and women dancers at times formed in lines facing each other, each line dancing forward and backward; a moment later they formed a circle, dancing around the scalp pole and the musicians. At intervals the spectators joined in the singing.

Captives were bound and placed in the center of the circle, possibly tied to the scalp pole. Frequently one of the dancers left his position and in pantomime killed and scalped the captive. Sometimes captives were tortured by the dancers, even to death. When the dance began, the singing was low and the dancers moved in a slow to moderate pace, but as it continued, the pace was accelerated and the singing grew louder. The dance continued from two hours to two or more days, but normally terminated before the light of day.[27]

The contemporary Comanche Brush Dance still retains some of the features of the old Scalp Dance.

In 1933, at a Brush Dance put on by *Mʌmɔ́kɔ*, the men and women danced back and forth in the old way before a tall pole on which Old Glory flew.

"That used to be a pole for scalps. At sunset we will bring down the flag," they said. "The man who brings down the flag has to be a good warrior. He has to tell about a coup first."

In each Comanche band there was a dance whip-holder. His whip was a wood blade with a serrated edge, and upon it were carved scalp symbols for the owner's victims. At the end of the whip were two short otter-skin lashes. In the old days there were one or two of these, owned by the bravest men in the band.

At any dance, the owner of the whip, which is called *pianɔ'ɔpai'i* (big whip), may stop the dance and recite a coup, ending his recital with a sun curse upon himself in testimony of its truth. He is a kind of master of ceremonies at the dance. He can dance up to any lounging spectator and point his whip. That person has to jump right in and dance—or be whipped.

Sometimes a warrior who could not dance for certain reasons wished to be excused; nevertheless, when the whip was pointed, he had to get up and dance. Then he could recite his strongest deed. The whip wielder next countered with his. If his deed was as good as the warrior's, the brave had to dance the rest of the time; if not,

[27] This account of the return of a successful party is compiled from statements by informants Yellowfish, Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old, and See How Deep the Water Is; also, Nyssel, "Three Months among the Indians," *loc. cit.*, 38; Gregg, *op. cit.*, 436; Lee, *op. cit.*, 150; R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, 359–60; Möllhausen, *op. cit.*, I, 184; Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, 27–28.

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727 then the brave was excused, and the whip owner had to dance himself.
●535 On the fourth day of *Mʌmɪ3ɨkə's* Brush Dance in 1933 Ralph Linton was adopted into the tribe. In a simple ceremony his war record (World War I) was praised and he was named *Ekakuta,* Red Buffalo, the buffalo who had so much power that he had thrown the Comanche "witch" up to the moon with a toss of his horns. She can be seen there yet. And then in a touching tribute and climax *Pinedapoi,* the Whip Owner, stepped forward and, placing his whip in the hands of Ralph Linton, announced that he was relinquishing it to a younger and greater warrior.

In pre-reservation days successful raiders who reached the village with many horses sometimes gave a part or all of them away. A young man who was courting a girl might drive all his horses to her father's lodge and leave them there. A young warrior who had gained high distinction while on the warpath was likely to be serenaded upon his return. On the morning after the Scalp or Victory Dance, young maidens of the camp dressed like warriors. They congregated before the young man's tipi to do the Shakedown Dance and sing the songs. The boy and his father knew why they were there. They were paying honor to the young warrior, and it was customary to present gifts to the serenaders in return. The boy's father, proud of his son's exploits, came out and gave horses to the girls. Later, when the boy had accumulated a supply of horses, he made the gifts himself.

701 Military fraternities did not become a developed and integrated
554 part of Comanche culture to the extent that they did among other tribes of the plains. Most of the Comanche warrior groups appear to have been informal organizations compounded of mutual friendship and interests, and they were not continuous or permanent. Although not formally organized into an association, the wearers of full-feathered war bonnets formed a special class, called war leaders, similar to top-ranking military men in our own society in wartime.

The buffalo-scalp-bonnet wearers were of a lower order. The buffalo-scalp hat was decorated with a row of eagle feathers. The breast feathers were tied about the bottom of the quill and reached down to the waist of the wearer. At the top of the buffalo scalp was a bunch of magpie feathers set back on the center of the head. The bonnet was assumed and worn by any brave, not necessarily a chief,

On the Reservation

The integrating nature of the Sun Dance for the Comanches is in part revealed by the closing act of the four-day period of preparation. After the victory rejoicing following the sham battle was over and just as twilight was drawing in, a crier rode through the great encampment, telling the people to get ready. Each band assembled before its lodges. Then, all starting together, each doing its favorite dance and singing as it came, all the bands of the whole Comanche nation (save the Wasps, who had gone back to their homes in Texas) moved in unison toward the dance lodge in the center of the great camp circle. When finally they reached the lodge, they clustered in one great mass before its eastern entrance. In a solid body they danced with a slow stomping step. The People for the first and last time in all their history were together as one.

After the buffalo hunt on the morning of the fifth day, the Sun Dancers prepared themselves. The crier called for them to bathe, and for anyone who was going to go into the lodge to watch or drum or sing to do likewise. While the dancers were preparing themselves, their wives, mothers, or aunts made beds of sage along the wall on the western half of the lodge. These beds were on the floor of the little compartments formed by a screen of cedar or cottonwood set out about four feet from the wall of the lodge. Here the dancers could stand or lie down to rest when not dancing.

After the sun had reached its noon position, the dancers, drummers, and chorus filed into the lodge. A huge round drum, upon which a half-dozen older men could thump in unison, was placed just south of the entrance. Each drummer had his stick—and some drummers had rattles.

The dancers retired behind the screen and painted themselves, and when all was ready, the drummers began their first song. The dancers stepped forth, and with gaze fixed on the center pole, they made little jumping movements in time to the beat; with each jump emitting a short blast on the eagle-bone whistle held between their teeth. It was just like any other Plains Indian Sun Dance. So it went until late at night and through the following three days.

Men with power performed miracles, and people came forward to hang gifts on the center pole. Boys who were learning to be warriors tied their little gifts to arrows which they shot up into the pole.[18]

[18] See also Linton, "The Comanche Sun Dance," *loc. cit.*, 420–28.

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his actual war deeds. When the "fort" had been taken, the whole group returned to camp singing victory songs. This episode symbolized the triumph of the Comanche over their enemies.

On the evening of this day the crier rode through the whole camp calling on the people to get ready. The members of each band assembled in front of their tipis and at a given signal all the bands began to move toward the lodge. Each band was marshalled and driven along by its War Whip Bearer. This functionary was chosen for bravery, being presumably the most important warrior in the band. He directed all dances and was allowed to strike any one who refused to dance, or who seemed backward, with his war whip, a long flat club, notched along one edge. Even to point this club at an individual was enough to bring him into the dance since he would fall ill if he refused.

The various bands moved toward the lodge obliquely, avoiding a direct approach to the entrance but marching in such a way that they would all finally congregate in front of it. As they moved each band did its favorite dance and sang a song of its own. When the first song was finished, the War Whip Bearer called on the band to halt, saying that he had something with which to quench the people's thirst. He then recounted some of his war deeds, assuring the people that they were not true, although they actually were. At the mention of each man whom he had killed the drum was struck. After this coup counting another song would be begun and the people would dance forward again. There were four halts of this sort, the last one finding them in front of the door of the lodge. Here the whole group danced for some time with a slow stamping step. Finally, the camp crier announced that the real dance would begin in the morning, saying that the herd of buffalo had been located by the scout sent out to find them. The people then dispersed.

The dance proper began the following morning with the buffalo round up. Four men, all brave warriors, had been selected to play the part of the buffalo. They were disguised in buffalo robes, one always being that of an old and scabby bull. These men were hidden at some distance from the camp and an especially brave warrior was sent out to find them and drive them in. He carried a bow and arrows in his right hand and a torch in his left, these being the means for killing and cooking the buffalo. The warrior came back driving the buffalo before him and into the lodge. Three of them went in at once, but the old bull ran around the lodge four times before he entered. After this ceremony, which symbolized the bringing of food to the people, the "buffalo" removed their costumes and left the lodge quietly. The same person might act both as a buffalo and as one of the regular

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796 535 dancers, but this was rarely the case since the buffalo were older men of established reputation while the dancers were usually young.

796 535 513 346 Early on this same morning the wives of the dancers, or, if they were unmarried, any of their close female relatives, made beds for them in the screened alcove at the western side of the lodge. These beds consisted of heaps of sage with robes over them. A large rounded heap of moist sand was also built. When the dancers were exhausted they would retire behind the screen and throw themselves upon this so that they would be revived by its dampness and coolness. After the beds had been made and the sand heap built no one was allowed behind the screen except the medicine man and the actual dancers.

796 535 783 515 The crier warned everyone who wished to attend the dance to bathe that morning. The dancers also bathed. This was a common preliminary to seeking to establish relations with the supernatural, as when a man was going to a medicine man's grave to get power from his ghost. It was a form of purification or consecration, although in this case it was not attended by any ceremony.

796 535 After the noon meal the people went into the lodge and the dance began. The drummers, old men who also led in the singing, seated themselves near the door or about the fire place. Unfortunately, the location of the fire place in the lodge was not ascertained. They had a large circular drum or drums [539] of the sort used in ordinary dances. These drums were beaten by several men simultaneously. They also carried rattles which apparently could be of any sort. The spectators, both men and women, seated themselves around the sides of the lodge three or four deep.

796 535 302 While the audience and orchestra were taking their places, the dancers went behind the screen with the medicine man and painted themselves. Often they helped to paint each other. This painting seems to have been rather varied. In the ceremony in which the roofless lodge was used all the dancers painted solid yellow. In that with the closed lodge each dancer was painted differently and there was a variety of colors and designs. All informants agreed that, although the paint was renewed each morning of the ceremony, each man wore the same designs throughout. The dancers were [293] stripped to breech clout and moccasins and carried no paraphernalia except their eagle bone whistles. None of these were seen, but they are described as identical with those used by other Plains tribes in the Sun Dance.

796 535 They were usually eight to twelve dancers. When they first emerged from behind the screen they danced with their arms stretched toward the sun, but as they became exhausted they dropped their arms and merely moved their shoulders with a shrugging motion, stamping at the same

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time. Each time they shrugged and stamped they blew a short blast on the eagle bone whistle. When certain special songs were sung all the spectators would join in, rise and dance too to encourage them. The medicine man stayed behind the screen most of the time, but when the dancers seemed to be flagging he would come out and reinvigorate them. He would do this by taking his fan, made of the tail feathers of the road-runner, and, while holding it horizontal, sweep it around in a circle from left to right. As he swept it around he blew along it and each dancer, as it came in line with him, began to dance hard again.

From time to time, apparently whenever interest was flagging, one of the spectators would come forward and hang a gift of some sort on the center pole. While doing so he would pray for a long and happy life. Small boys were encouraged to shoot arrows into the fork of the pole as their offerings. These offerings were sacred and could not be touched. When the people went away at the end of the dance the things were simply left there to be destroyed by the elements. However, visitors from other tribes who happened to be present during the dance could put an offering on the pole and take down something else in exchange. One informant, when a small boy, had visited a Kiowa Sun Dance lodge after the dance and had, on the advice of his grandfather, exchanged his old breech clout for a new one hanging on the pole. When they got back to camp their own people said that this was dishonest.

According to Post Oak Jim, the informant mentioned above, the medicine man in charge might come out from time to time and do sleight of hand tricks to show his power. He might put a knife down his throat and bring it up covered with blood. Then he would blow on the blade and the blood would disappear. Sick people might also call on the medicine man for special help during the dance, although whether he treated them on the spot was not ascertained. No other informants mentioned these features, but healing is such a frequent element in Comanche ceremonies that they may well have taken it for granted. All the spectators were believed to benefit by the ceremony and to go away improved in health and spirits.

On the first day the dance ran from early in the afternoon until sunset. There was then a halt of about two hours to rest and eat, after which the dance began again and continued until midnight. After the evening session had ended, the dancers went down to the creek under guard of a man chosen by the medicine man and bathed. They sat and splashed in the water but were forbidden to dive in or to drink. They then returned and slept behind the screen on the beds prepared for them. They danced the next morning, afternoon, and evening, with intervals at noon and night for them to rest

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and for the spectators to eat. This continued for three days. All the people had to bathe every morning before entering the lodge.

The dancers underwent no torture other than exhaustion and abstinence from food and drink. Even the abstinence was not complete. Dancers were allowed to chew slippery elm bark during the rest periods, also to drink the mucilaginous fluid obtained by scraping the inside of strips of this bark. They were allowed to eat the dried wild plums which would be found lying on the ground under plum bushes at this season of the year and possibly other dried fruits as well.

The condition of the dancers was closely watched and if it seemed that any dancer would be unable to last out the full period his father would arrange for his release. The father went to the medicine man and without making him the formal smoke offering required when his aid was asked in other matters, gave him a gift and asked that the young man be excused. If the medicine man accepted the gift, the young man was told to go behind the screen, take up his bed and leave. His father went with him from the lodge to the creek, where the young man washed his mouth out, dived in four times against the current and then washed his mouth again. After this he was free to go home. Diving four times against the current was also a part of the ritual used in relinquishing any supernatural power which had become burdensome. Sometimes another man would take the place of the one who had been released and finish the dance for him, but informants did not know how this was arranged. Actually, such releases were very infrequent, as they were considered disgraceful.

The dance ended at midnight on the fourth day. Informants were not sure whether the dancers underwent any ceremony of secularization at the end of the ceremony. The next morning camp was broken and the various bands moved back to their own ranges. Four over night halts had to be made on the return trip. Even the band in whose territory the dance had been held would move away, leaving the lodge with its offerings deserted. Shortly after the dance a series of small feasts would be given, one in honor of each dancer. To these feasts only the dancer, his relatives, the medicine man, and the old men of the Sun Dance orchestra would be invited.

Very little regarding the symbolism or purpose of the dance is remembered at the present time. The whole lodge is said to have represented an eagle's nest while the buffalo manikin or pelt placed on top of the center pole is said to have been food for the eagle. In their movements and whistling the dancers were supposed to be imitating young eagles not yet able to fly.

6: Linton E-5 (1933) 1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

Apparently the purpose of the ceremony was partly to increase the importance of the medicine man, who remained the central figure throughout, partly to improve the well being of the whole group, especially their physical health. The dancers, as a result of their participation, received an increase in their supernatural power, but they seem to have drawn this from the medicine man rather than directly from the Sun, the Eagle, or any other supernatural being. This would be in accordance with the general Comanche pattern of obtaining power from other individuals more frequently than they obtained it by direct contact with supernatural beings. Visions might come to the dancers during the dance, but these were in the nature of unusual benefits not specifically sought for or expected. The only instance of such a vision which informants remembered was not that of a dancer but that of a man who impersonated the old bull in the initial ceremony of driving in the buffalo. At the end of the chase this man was so exhausted that, when he started out of the lodge, he partially lost consciousness and had to cling to the center pole. When he came to he told the people that he had had a vision of a white man with long white curly hair. The Comanche believe that this was Jesus, although it happened before missionaries had come among them. As they had had Christian Mexican captives living among them from at least 1750 on, they were probably familiar with Christian ideology even at that time. Since the Comanche are not secretive with regard to their visions or other supernatural experiences, the fact that this is the only Sun Dance vision remembered would indicate that such visions were very rare.

There is documentary evidence that the Comanche did not reach their historic territory until about 1700 and it seems highly probable that they had emerged from the northern plateau area only a few generations before. It is certain that during the historic period they were actively engaged in borrowing elements of Plains culture from their neighbors and that certain of these elements had not been perfectly assimilated at the time of their final subjugation. I believe that the rather wide range of variation in certain details of the Sun Dance, such as the form of the lodge, can best be explained by the assumption that the Comanche had not had the Sun Dance long enough to establish a complete and integrated pattern for the ceremony. If so, many of the details of particular Sun Dances might be determined largely by the officiating medicineman's knowledge of the Sun Dance rituals of neighboring tribes, especially the Kiowa and Cheyenne. Most of the older informants were familiar with the Kiowa Sun Dance and considered their own as very much the same. The use of a fan of roadrunner feathers to invigorate the dancers was cited as a specific identity. At the same time,

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE AND MESSIANIC OUTBREAK OF 1873

114 A confirmation of the Comanche Sun Dance[1] occurs incidentally in the valuable 468 historical work of Professor R. N. Richardson.[2] Richardson does not treat of the Sun 796 Dance itself, but he has produced some important cultural data that deserve to be called to the attention of anthropologists.

The recent work of Spier on the Prophet Dance of the Northwest[3] has established the cultural matrix of the several messianic cults of western North America in a number of deep-lying and apparently ancient, indigenous traits. The Comanches can also be fitted into this picture.

468 It is an hitherto unrealized fact that the Comanches in 1873 had their own short- 182 lived messianic outbreak. It is particularly notable that they did not use the cere- 535 monial form of the then current Prophet Dance (with which they most likely had 796 no direct contact). It was the Sun Dance which was adopted as the ceremonial vehicle! The Sun Dance was a wholly new feature in Comanche culture, devoid of associations which tied it too closely to other religious ends; and it possessed the elements of ritualized supernaturalism and the novel and spectacular which seem to be so important in messianic revivalism.

468 Richardson's fully documented account, which is derived from the official communications of observers who were in the field at the time,[4] reveals the following essential facts (corroborated at some points by the field notes taken by the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology Ethnology Field Study Group, 1933):

a) "When conditions were already alarming (i.e., unrest on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation), the Comanches conceived the idea of holding a tribal medicine dance similar to the annual ceremonies of the Kiowas. This was a new thing for the Comanches."[5]

468 b) This idea was promulgated by the famous young medicine man and warrior, 792 Isatai, whose prestige was based upon a number of powers. He had established his invulnerability to bullets (which was common enough), and he had "raised the dead." But more important were his successful predictions that the comet which was attracting much attention at the time would disappear within five days and that it would be followed by a summer-long drought. According to the reports, he had also "ascended above the clouds, where he had communed with the Great Spirit."[6]

113

[1] Cf., R. Linton, *The Comanche Sun Dance* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, 1935), pp. 420–428.

[2] R. N. Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Cal., 1933), pp. 373 ff.

[3] L. Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives* (General Series in Anthropology, No. 1, 1935).

[4] F. W. Smith and J. W. Smith to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 26, 1874, Central Superintendency, S 1328; Haworth to Beede, April 25, 1874; Haworth to Hoag, May 6, 1874.

[5] Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 372. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

[pp 1-300 not processed]

8: Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933) 1941 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches, who stem from the northern Shoshones, not uncommonly experienced the return from the spirit world on the part of those who had died. It may be said of the Comanches that they had all the basic cultural materials for the prophet cult, such as Spier describes, except the dance form. And they used the Sun Dance to fill this need.

The crisis situation which Kroeber,[13] Lowie,[14] Wallis,[15] and Lesser[16] have emphasized as essential to the emergence of Plains messianism had arisen in the southern plains long before 1890. It may well have been that a Ghost Dance could have swept northward from the Comanches in 1873 had not their initial effort ended in such utter disaster.

As is well known, Professor Kroeber has laid the indifference of the California tribes to the great movement of 1890 to "immunization" by their previous experience in the 1870's.[17] This thesis aptly applies to the Comanches, who were coldly indifferent to the Ghost Dance which raged through the Plains at the end of the century. The sole Comanches to take up that dance were a few northerners who were in close contact with their dancing neighbors, and the Swift Stingers band—the one Comanche band which had refused to participate in the outbreak of 1873.[18] Mooney's explanation, which laid the Comanche rejection of the Ghost Dance to a "general skeptical temperament of the Comanches" and to a "tribal pride against borrowing from others, as they considered their own mescal rite sufficient,"[19] must now be discarded in its entirety.

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THE SOUTHERN UTE PEYOTE CULT

In his article on *The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite*,[1] Dr Marvin K. Opler presents a description of the cult and an interpretation of the conditions relating to its acceptance which warrant further discussion. In January, 1938, I spent a week with peyotists on the Ute Mountain reservation at Towaoc, Colorado, in circumstances ideal for learning about peyotism.[2] Several coincidences contributed to my being favorably received: at Blanding, Utah, on my way to Colorado, I had been instrumental in having two Towaoc peyotists released from jail, where they

[13] A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, 1925).

[14] R. H. Lowie, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 193–195.

[15] Wallis, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.

[16] A. Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game* (Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, xvi, 1933), p. 59.

[17] Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 868–869.

[18] James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Report 14, 1896), pp. 901–902.

[19] *Ibid.*

[1] (American Anthropologist, 42, 1940), pp. 463–478.

[2] Incidental to a Culture Element Distribution Survey under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

[pp 304-end, not processed]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 N06 Comanche N06

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:—

Yápairē'ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natē'ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairē'ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwī nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tſrewō'ku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatē'ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nū[3]'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā'r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast." [3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark, 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápaire'ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

their drums. There was a strict rule, that no dog must run ahead of the performers lest it be shot; so women would bid their children take care of any dogs they prized. Sometimes, however, a man who specially liked his dog might be asked to sacrifice it on this occasion. This taboo may have been common to several groups of dancers, but dogs were certainly especially offensive to those of the Crow division.

During any of the dances the managers would threaten to strike laggards with clubs.

About the other dances I was only able to learn that the Horses and Little Horses wore buffalo-skin sashes that lacked the slit found elsewhere, and used rawhide rattles, decorated with yellow-hammer feathers; the Horses also had spears, trimmed with eagle feathers.

When the master of the nā'wapinàr had decided that the time for action had arrived, he caused the dancing to cease and had the Comanche prepare for the warpath. On the night before setting out the tribesmen assembled, coming in pairs toward the front and in single file behind. Then occurred the ceremony called nïotsäit'. The women brought a buffalo hide and sticks. Some men held up one side of the hide, while the women held the opposite side, and all belabored it with the sticks, a special song being intoned by the master alone and taken up by the rest.[1]

On the next day the Comanche started against the enemy, led by the master. They appointed scouts to determine the hostile tribe's position. On their return buffalo chips were piled up, and the leader went in front of the heap to sing a war song. The pile of chips represented a sort of oath to the effect that the enemy's camp was really situated in the place specified, and also marked a spot for the Comanche to return to. After a successful raid public thanks were rendered to those who had avenged the injury. Scalps were set on a pole and carried aloft by the main chief as he rode ahead on the return trip. His body was stripped to the waist and painted black. War songs were chanted and guns were discharged as the party came back. Those who had remained in camp saw the scalp and knew that the injury had been avenged.

A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical elements of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance. Again, I learned that there were

[1] This ceremony has been noted among the Nez Percé, Lemhi Shoshone, and Crow. The last-mentioned tribe borrowed it from the (Wind River) Shoshone.

28: Thomas H-4 (no date) 1962 N06 Comanche N06
(1786)

175 "The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is
701 by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull,
175 and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:

701 The Comanche had five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the
726 dances prior to getting up a war-party.

535 In another place he adds:

The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift-Fox,-all-war dances and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack . . . . ."[11]

175 It is perhaps significant that the bands number five, since five,
801 as is well known, is the pattern number of some of the Basin
171 Shoshoneans.

559 With regard to the "f" shaped figures in the reproduction here,
701 it has been suggested[12] to the writer that possibly these are crooked
171 lances which are badges of office common to the various military
[175] societies found among the Plains Indians generally.[13] Hooked lances as noted by Lowie were among the Comanche typical elements in their military societies:

559 A number of questions were asked to determine traces of typical ele-
701 ments of military societies as found among the Plains tribes. In reply to one of these queries I was told that some warriors had hooked sticks with a long spear point at the bottom, the bent part being decorated with two pairs of eagle feathers. I could not ascertain that these regalia were correlated with a special tribal division or dance.[14]

171 In the case of the Wind River Shoshoni, the hooked sticks, Lowie learned, were used to catch fleeing enemies:

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[113] [11] R. H. Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 11: 809.

[12] The suggestion is Dr. Spier's.

[113] [13] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, (Comanche), 811; (Kiowa), 847 f; (Cheyenne) Kit Fox Society, 896. J. R. Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies. Anthr. Pap. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., v. 11 (Pawnee; Two Lance Society, 561; Red Lance Society, 567; Thunderbird Lance, 570; Crow Lance, 571; Brave Raven Society, 574; Fighting Lance, 576; Wolf Lance, 576; Blackhead Lance, 576; Knife Lance, 578). A. L. Kroeber, The Arapaho. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist. Bull., 18: 159, 1904.

[14] Lowie, Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone, 809–811.